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day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathi* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.
3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.
4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

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624 423 312 One of the clerk's most troublesome duties is keeping track of irrigation property. If a stream commences in the property of a certain man, that man has the right to build a ditch within his own property to irrigate his own fields, and that water belongs exclusively to him. If he wishes to sell the rights to some of the water to a neighbor, he allows the neighbor to lead water off the stream below the place at which he leads off his own water, and likewise allows this neighbor to build a ditch across his land to the purchaser's field. The purchaser must pay for the water rights and for the narrow strip of land on which the ditch runs. The clerk makes out papers for the transfer of these rights, and signs them.

He also makes out papers for other irrigation complications. One man may sell the right of one day's water per year to another man through whose land his ditch passes. If a ditch is led off from a large stream which flows through a number of villages, no one owns the original water, but any man who constructs a ditch from it has the right to the water which is led off, once he has paid for the land which the ditch crosses. Men who construct such ditches usually sell so many shares in it that in time it becomes almost communal. The shares are sold on the basis of so many day's water a year per man. If a dry year comes or the water is low, each man receives a reduced share of the water proportionate to his original allowance.

If a ditch owner has allowed another man to lead off part of his water into another ditch, under time limit or restriction, when a season of drought comes they take turns, day by day, so as to divide equally what little there is of it.

If in a series of step-terraces, built one above the other, an avalanche covers more than the top one, the owners of all the terraces in the series have to work together to remove the stones. If a cloudburst pushes these same terraces down the side of the mountain so that the top one has lowered its position, and the bottom one has fallen into the stream and its earth been washed away, the owners of the terraces go to the clerk and find out exactly how much of this particular terrace land each of them possessed. If they each owned a third, the clerk measures, with string, what arable land remains, and divides it up proportionately, so that the order of ascension is the same as before, but the area of each is proportionately reduced. If, however, the bottom one suffers loss through the action of the stream and nothing has happened to the upper ones, the owner of the bottom terrace has to suffer his loss alone. Any small loss of earth or manure due to a storm may not be recovered; the owner of the lower terrace into which it has been washed may keep it. If the boundary wall between two terraces has been broken in by the storm, and dirt has washed over the stones, making the boundary questionable, the clerk comes with the papers of the original sale and a cord, and measures the terraces anew. Then the owner of the upper terrace must build another retaining wall, and cannot recover the earth which he has lost, unless, as above stated, the upper boundary of his land has slumped downhill and the bottom terrace has fallen into the stream.

624 423 When a man's tree thrusts its branches over a boundary so that it hangs over another man's land and makes shade on it, preventing the growth of grain or vegetables, the owner of the shaded land may protest and demand that that part of the tree be removed. The clerk forbids cutting it, however, and orders the owner of the tree to give a fourth of its fruit to the other man.

624 471 The clerk also keeps track of the olive press, and of the succession of those entitled to use it. If a neighboring *bone* has no press he lets it use the one in his territory, before the

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actual owners of the machine are allowed to do so; and he collects from them the customary divisions of the oil which they squeeze. The village council of each *bone* makes out the list and the clerk writes it down and sees that it is followed.

Another duty of this latter official is making out papers of adoption for strangers who come into the *bone* to live and who wish to become affiliated with it.

The clerk also has charge of wills and inheritance. The head of each family may make a will on his deathbed, or at some time when he fears imminent death. To do this he summons the clerk, who writes down the terms of the bequests and takes the paper away with him. After the man has died he produces this paper, makes its contents public, and administers the estate.

Although most men, in making their wills, follow the traditional rules of inheritance, some bequeath their property unequally among their heirs, at times cutting individuals off entirely, and leave property to mosques or saints' tombs. No man is permitted, however, to disinherit his wife or wives.

In each tribe there is supposed to be a judge, appointed by the tribal council, and holding his office for life or good behavior. He has received a diploma from one of the four institutions previously mentioned. His appointment does not usually come, however, until long after his fulfilment of the requirements for this position. He is almost always a native of the tribe in which he is employed.

There was one in Beni Urriaghel, one in Beni Tuzin, and one in Gzennaya, at the time the Christians entered. The first judge in the Rif in modern times was Si Abd el Rahman of the Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya, who had dwelt long in Fez and married a Fezzi wife. The Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel decided, about fifty years ago, that they would like to have a judge, and therefore sent men of the Gzennaya to Fez to persuade Si Abd el Rahman to come. On the way back from Fez, the Beni Ulid, who did not know that he was a judge, attacked him and his bodyguard in the night, killing him and capturing his wife and children. What remained of the bodyguard returned to the Rif and called together a great council of the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Beni Ulishk, Beni Said, and Metalsa. All these councillors, with their retainers, invaded Beni Ulid and devastated it, taking back the prisoners and loot, and exacting a fine of four thousand five hundred dollars.

Si Abd el Rahman's eldest son was made judge in his place, after him his brother, and after his brother his sons, in turn. Beni Urriaghel and Beni Tuzin later each established a judge, certified by that of Beni Yunes. Several others were set up and deposed in later times.

Every year each *fifth* presents the judge with a cow, five or six goats, and large quantities of all staple agricultural products. The judge in this way receives a large income, but is expected to spend most or all of it on hospitality. He settles disputes concerning landed property. Contestants bring their papers of ownership to him, and he decides which one really owns the property, then signs and seals the paper of the winner. The plaintiffs bring him presents of meat and sugar — any further gift would be considered bribery.

In the Senhaja Sghir the Sherif of Targuist acts as judge, except in Taghzuth, where there has been a judge for generations. Until the time of Abd el Krim, however, the judge of Taghzuth was influenced by the Sherif of Targuist.

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness [777] which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is [262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
597 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the

556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based